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Charles W. Upham.

MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES WENTWORTH UPHAM.

BY

GEORGE E. ELLIS.

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MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES WENTWORTH UPHAM.

CHARLES WENTWORTH UPHAM, though he was not born within the limits of the United States, had every other claim to its full and honored citizenship. Here he passed all but the early boyhood of his life; and here, in several forms of high service, he discharged a larger variety of trusts than is often assigned to the most favored of those born on our soil. He came of a family among the original English Colonists of Massachusetts Bay. A line of five generations between his first ancestor here and himself gives us the names of those who were trusted and serviceable in all the ordinary and emergent offices, calling for able and faithful men, in the development of communities and States.

The first of the family in Massachusetts was John Upham. His gravestone, in the old burial-ground of the town of Malden, implies that he was born in England, in 1597, near the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He emigrated hither at the age of thirty-eight, with wife and children, and settled at Weymouth. He was admitted a freeman — signifying his being in church covenant — Sept. 2, 1635; and was repeatedly deputy or representative from that town in the General Court. Before the year 1650, he had removed to Malden; serving the town and the court as selectman and commissioner, and in the municipal trusts then committed to the worthiest citizens. He died in 1681, aged eighty-four; having been for twenty-four years a deacon of the church.

A son of John Upham, who would seem to have been the first of his children born in the colony for the defence of which he was to give his life in Indian warfare, was Lieutenant Phineas Upham. He died in Malden, October, 1676, at the age of forty-one, from wounds received in the Great Swamp Fight with the Narragansetts, in Philip's war, Nov. 19, 1675. Just previous to the breaking out of the war, which disabled him for nearly a year afterwards and brought

his life to a close, he had been engaged in the first enterprises for the settlement of Worcester.

The eldest son of the lieutenant bore his name; and died in Malden, in 1720, at the age of sixty-two, after having served as selectman, representative, and deacon of the church.

A third who bore the name of Phineas, and the eldest son of him just named, was the progenitor of a numerous family connection; which, including the subject of this Memoir, offers us a long list of men widely known over our extending country, eminent and honored in all professions and pursuits, — in trade, in law, in medicine, in scholarship, and philosophy, in the churches and colleges, and in the senates of the States and the nation, — and of women, also, as wives, mothers, and matrons in the best of our households.

One of the sons of the third Phineas Upham was Dr. Jabez Upham, who went to Brookfield, Mass., and there practised his profession as a physician till his death, in 1760. His son, Joshua Upham, was the father of the subject of this Memoir; and because of a special interest attached to his life and experience, connected with the early fortunes of his son, the writer of these pages must anticipate a matter in the line of his narrative.

The last, and it may fairly be said the most genial and the most felicitously wrought, labor of the pen of our late associate was his Memoir of Colonel Timothy Pickering, soldier and statesman, Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General of the army of the Revolution, and Postmaster-General, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State, of the United States. In his later years he was a much honored and esteemed parishioner and intimate friend of Mr. Upham, then minister of the First Church in Salem. There was still another tie between the venerated Pickering and his biographer, which the latter felt to be a warm and strong one, as the patriot statesman had been in Harvard College the classmate and chum, and continued to be the friend, of Mr. Upham's father, though their ways in troubled times divided their interests and fortunes. The reader of the admirable biography of Colonel Pickering will notice that, among the incidental episodical discussions in which Mr. Upham allows some liberty to his own pen, always adding charm and vigor to his pages, is one on the treatment of the Loyalists, or so-called Tories, on the first outburst of the spirit of liberty in Massachusetts and the other Provinces. It might seem as if the biographer's prompting in this plea was a somewhat personal one, as he was himself the son of an exiled and proscribed Loyalist. But his plea and argu-

ment may be allowed to stand on their own merits of pertinency and cogency. His views and his judgment in the matter wholly coincided with those of Colonel Pickering. And it can hardly fail to strike the reader that the course which Mr. Upham thinks would have been a wiser one in the treatment of our Loyalists was precisely that pursued by our own government on the close of the War of Secession, in restoring to all their former political and social rights even the foremost leaders of the Rebellion.

Joshua Upham was born in Brookfield, Mass., in 1741. He graduated at Harvard College in 1763. In view of the agitations and alienations which were to be so painfully active among the members of that class when, after their pleasant fellowship in the College, they in a few years should find themselves at variance in the entrance of their manly careers, it is interesting to note the many names on the list which are associated with a remarkable personal history on both sides in the Revolutionary strife. There stand the names of the honored patriot, Josiah Quincy, Jr., prematurely called from the good service which he was so nobly rendering; of Nathan Cushing, Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; and of Timothy Pickering, just mentioned. These are conspicuous names on the winning side. There, too, is the name of a neutral or a mediator, — that of John Jeffries, who returned from his medical studies in Aberdeen, just as our strife was opening, in the British naval service; went off with General Howe, as surgeon to the forces in Nova Scotia, and also in Charleston, S. C.; returned to England, crossed the British Channel to France, in a balloon; and came back, in 1789, to practise his profession in Boston. The names on the college catalogue were then arranged in the order of social rank. After the name of Upham come those of Jonathan Bliss — afterwards Upham's brother-in-law — and of Sampson Salter Blowers, these three being all refugees in the war. Upham and Bliss became Judges of the Supreme Court of the Province of New Brunswick, Bliss being the Chief Justice; and Blowers, Chief Justice of that of Nova Scotia. The last-named lived beyond one hundred years before he was starred in the catalogue. Similar divergences may be traced in the fortunes of members of the classes preceding and following that of 1763. They contained many prominent men, whose careers on either side were fond subjects of interest and study to the subject of this Memoir, as they illustrated history and character.

Joshua Upham began the study of law in Brookfield, and had won much distinction at the Worcester bar; being greatly

honored in his profession, and greatly respected for public spirit as a citizen up to the painful crisis in his lot. It is remarkable that, while those who were driven to the royal side, as he was, generally accorded with the British policy in the suppression of manufacturing enterprises in the Colonies, he was very active in promoting such provincial industries. In March, 1768, a meeting was held in Worcester of those who, indignant with the prohibitory measures of England, were in favor of advancing manufactures. The famous Ruggles opposed the disloyal movement; but Upham approved it. He, with two brothers and other gentlemen, had built a woollen manufactory in Brookfield,* and he had made efforts to introduce the manufacture of salt at stations on the sea-coast. But he fell upon distracted times; and there can now be no harm in saying that, like many others in the country of a class of so-called Loyalists, who were at worst only timid, halting, or cautious, while sincerely upright, conscientious, and patriotic, he received unmerited harsh treatment. Committees of correspondence, of espionage and inquisition, became very active, sometimes overbearing and impertinent, in every town. The business which they assigned to themselves was to put to the question of King or People every citizen, especially the more prominent ones in place or influence. Hurry and dictation were offensive to some, who needed only time and freedom of action to bring them into accord with the popular movements. On receiving a somewhat imperious call from the committee of his town, for a statement of his opinions and purpose in the critical state of affairs, he replied by a letter, which is printed in Force's "American Archives," fourth series, vol. ii., page 852, dated May 20th, 1775. In this letter, he says he is pausing to decide on the position which he shall himself take, until, after free debate and a proper deliberation, the majority of the people have committed themselves to the one or the other alternative. He will not set up his private judgment against that of the people, but claims a right to express his own views and apprehensions to help in the decision of the question. Then he will acquiesce in the popular resolve, and take common part and lot in measures designed to save the country in resisting the royal government, though he may think such measures improper, and not likely to be successful. In the mean while, he demanded freedom of opinion, and security for person and property. But the intense feelings of the hour, and the humor of

* See Boston Evening Post, Oct. 10, 1768.

his fellow-citizens, would not admit of what seemed weak and cautious temporizing, and a timid mistrust of a hopeful cause. The coolness of treatment which he received, with threats or apprehensions of what might follow, drove him, as they did many others under like circumstances, to the protection of the royal sympathizers in Boston. This act decided his future for him. Without means of support for himself and family in a besieged town, he accepted from the British commander the office of supervision of the refugees from the country, and, soon after, an appointment as aid on the staff of Sir Guy Carleton, subsequently Lord Dorchester, between whom and himself there continued a warm friendship. The close of the war found him at New York in the British service as a colonel of dragoons. He was among the proscribed whose estates were confiscated by the State of Massachusetts in 1778; and nothing but exile was before him. Mr. Upham had married, first, a daughter of Colonel John Murray, of Rutland, Mass.; and, on her decease, a daughter of Honorable Joshua Chandler, of New Haven, Conn. The latter was the mother of the subject of this Memoir and of several other children. The stately mansion-house of her father was afterwards long known as the "Tontine" Hotel, in New Haven. A building of the same name succeeds it on the same site. Mr. Upham's fine homestead in Brookfield long served a similar use.

Colonel Pickering, who, as above stated, was one of those who disapproved of the summary measures pursued towards the so-called Loyalists, felt a sincere sympathy for his old college chum, Upham. In a letter which he wrote to a friend in March, 1783, he says that Upham had expressed to a correspondent in Boston, where he had left a daughter, an intention of returning there; and he adds, "Upham is a good-hearted fellow, and probably would not have joined the enemy but for his marriage connections." After the close of hostilities, and during the long delay in the evacuation of New York, Pickering, who had hoped to have a friendly interview with Upham, which the hurried departure of the latter prevented, wrote to him from West Point, Nov. 14, 1783, a most cordial letter of unbroken regard and sympathy. To this Upham, on the 18th, replied in the same spirit of kindness and esteem, saying, "I leave the country for the winter from pecuniary considerations, not from resentment." *

New Brunswick, which had been a county of Nova Scotia,

* Life of Timothy Pickering, Vol. I. pp. 405, 491, 492.

called Sunbury, was separated and made a distinct government and province in 1784. At the first organization of the Supreme Court of the Province, Joshua Upham was made an assistant justice, Nov. 25, 1784. He was also, with other refugees, on the council of Thomas Carleton, Esq., who was commissioned as first governor of the Province. The judge faithfully and ably discharged the arduous duties attendant upon the tasks assigned him, under the conditions of a rough country and a settlement among a raw and heterogeneous population. His brethren on the bench sent him to England in 1807, on a mission to the government, for securing a more complete organization of the judiciary of the Province. He met with perfect success in the purpose of his errand. He also made many strongly attached personal friends, among whom were Mr. Palmer, who bequeathed his valuable library to Harvard College, Sir John Wentworth, Sir William Pepperrell, and Mr. Spencer Perceval. The last-named gentleman, Chancellor of the Exchequer, formed so strong a regard for Mr. Upham — who died in London in 1808, and was buried in the Church of Marylebone — as to continue acts of substantial kindness to the widow and children, whom the judge had left with very slender means. The Chancellor, a few days before his assassination, sent a considerable sum of money, — four hundred silver dollars, — with books and other valuable gifts, for the education of the subject of this Memoir.

Charles Wentworth Upham was born in St. John, New Brunswick, May 4, 1802. This was at the time a wild, unsettled region of forest, on the edge of the farthest boundary of the Province, — a region now partly the parish of Upham and partly Sussex Vale, bordering on the St. John's River, on the Bay of Fundy. Till 1785, the region was a part of Nova Scotia. Many of the Hessian soldiers settled after the Revolution in that neighborhood.

Judge Upham's house was on the banks of the river Kennebekasis. The scenes around it, and the conditions of domestic and social life which it involved, were for several years rough and severe. Still, they had their compensations in the occasions for activity, enterprise, and sterling virtues which they presented, and were especially favorable to the development of good qualities in the children born and trained there by worthy parents. Had the Chancellor Perceval lived longer, it is probable that Charles might have been sent to England, under his patronage, and continued through life a British subject. He gave early indications of the mental powers and proclivities which distinguished his maturity, and

from his boyhood improved every opportunity which his own efforts and the aid of others could secure for his education and culture. After the death of his father, and when he was but eight years of age, he was sent to a school then recently established at St. John, where instruction in Latin was offered. Still another occasion presented itself, which might have resulted in making him a British subject and naval officer for life. He was a bright and handsome youth, remarkable then, as always, for personal beauty and attractiveness. These qualities drew to him the interest of Captain Blythe, of the British brig "Boxer," then stationed at St. John, during the war between Great Britain and her former colonies. The captain was about securing to the boy a midshipman's warrant aboard his vessel; the mother having, though with reluctance, given her consent to the proposal. Just as the scheme was maturing, word came in that the United States brig "Enterprise," Lieutenant Burrows, was off the coast. Captain Blythe slipped his cables, and hurried out to engage her. The vessels came to action off Portland Harbor, Sept. 4, 1813. After a gallant and sanguinary combat, the "Boxer" was captured; but both the commanders were killed, and peacefully interred side by side. When (as will be noted further on), in the temporary raging of the excitement in the political field of the "Know-Nothing" or Native American party, Mr. Upham was superseded as a representative of his district in the National Congress, this friendly purpose toward him of Captain Blythe was made the starting-point of a story that he had once served in the British navy. Charles was then put into an apothecary's shop, charged with the preparation of medicines and prescriptions, and with attending on the proprietor, Dr. Paddock, of St. John, a physician and surgeon in large private and hospital practice. Here the youth, with his characteristic industry and love of learning, read through the whole Edinburgh "Materia Medica." But the death of his employer again arrested the current of his life in the direction of a professional education. He was sent to a farm fifteen miles above Annapolis, in the valley of the river of the same name, where he performed such rough and useful service as his years allowed. In 1813, just before the close of the war, Mr. Phineas Upham, a merchant of Boston, and cousin of Charles, happening, on a visit to St. John, to see his young kinsman, proposed to befriend him by training him for business in his store. From the inducements offered by this opportunity, maturely reflected upon, the subsequent career of the youth was decided. He

started, unaccompanied, on June 14, 1816, being then fourteen years old, to return to the country of his ancestry. He was then at an age to have formed abiding impressions of the scenes and companions of his youth. One of his life-long interests was to retain and extend his knowledge of the history, the fortunes, and the inhabitants of the Provinces which Great Britain reserved in America. He had occasion to know how feelings of embitterment in many of their inhabitants for two generations had grown from an undue or ill-timed severity towards the native or resident Loyalists at the opening of our Revolution. He believed, with reason, that more tolerant or conciliatory treatment of them would in many cases have drawn them over to the popular and successful side, and would have averted the rise and growth of prosperous settlements on our northern and eastern borders, whose interests have sometimes clashed with our own, and who have more than once in our history threatened a dangerous hostility against us. He continued, by correspondence, a close connection with the members of his family whom he had left behind him; and in later years the survivors of them were frequently his visitors. As will be mentioned by and by, on graduating from Harvard College, in 1821, in company with a friend and classmate, he made a tour in the Provinces, and visited his mother, then residing in Annapolis. He made a second visit to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, in 1844, accompanied by his friend, Mr. Humphrey Devereux, of Salem.

There must have been something venturesome and exciting for the boy, as his own protector and guide, in a time of hostilities, travelling over disturbed scenes by sea and land to reach a new home. He crossed the Bay of Fundy, and then made his way to Eastport, Me., held at the time by the British; and, following the coast, he reached Boston on June 27. His kind kinsman received him into his family and counting-house, intending to train him for business. But his evident talents and tastes for a higher mental culture were indulged; and, with a view to his preparation for a college course, he was sent to a school in Boston, under the charge of the late Deacon Samuel Greele, among whose pupils he was the eldest, while Robert C. Winthrop was the youngest.

He entered Harvard College in 1817, and, pursuing the usual course, graduated in 1821. His class contained many members who, like himself, attained distinction in mature life, and filled many places of trust and influence. How he stood among his associates will soon appear from communications from two of them, with which the writer of this Memoir has been kindly favored. His first and constant object was

to secure the highest improvement of the opportunities which he enjoyed; and the second, consistent with the first and helpful to it, was to win the respect and love of his teachers and associates. Though his kinsman cheerfully assumed the expense of his education and maintenance, young Upham felt prompted, alike by his circumstances and his inclination, to avail himself of the usual resource of many students in those days, — that of teaching school in country towns through a prolonged winter vacation, while following on with the studies of his class. The winter of his Sophomore year was thus spent at Wilmington, Mass.; where, nearly a half century before, he had been preceded in the office by Benjamin Thompson, afterwards the famous Count Rumford. The winter of his Junior year was spent in similar service in the town of Leominster, and that of his Senior year in Bolton.

Of his course and standing in College, the following letters from two of his classmates furnish hearty and appreciative estimates; and what the writer has heard in conversation from other members of the class is of the same genial and admiring tone. The writers of both these letters were present at the last rites of respect and affection for Mr. Upham. The first of them is from Honorable Josiah Quincy, a former Mayor of Boston: —

Quincy, Nov. 20, 1875.

My dear Doctor Ellis, — I do not know that I can give any particular reminiscences of my friend and classmate, Charles Wentworth Upham. His chum for part, if not the whole, of his college course, was the late Benjamin Tyler Reed, the founder of the Episcopal Seminary at Cambridge. Upham was very handsome and very popular, and was the second scholar in the class. Robert W. Barnwell, of South Carolina, was the first, and was a nearer friend to Mr. Upham than to any other of the young men of the North, — there being a line of distinction between those who came from the South and those from the North. The former were very polite, but, except among themselves, very reserved and distant. Barnwell was a leader in our rebellion at College on account of the suspension of Manigault, who was his room-mate and friend. He was afterwards almost the author of the great Rebellion against the Union; being a Senator of the United States from South Carolina, the author of the ——— letter to the President, which even Mr. Buchanan refused to receive, and subsequently a member of the Confederate Senate during the whole war. His house was burned by Sherman, his slaves freed, and he reduced to poverty. He is now President of the College at Columbia, S. C. He commanded the Harvard Washington Corps, of which Mr. Upham was the orderly sergeant. Upham was an excellent scholar, and universally beloved by his classmates.

I am very truly yours,

Josiah Quincy.

The second letter is from Ralph Waldo Emerson, under date Dec. 6, 1875: —

I send you such facts as I suddenly recall of my old classmate, whom I believe all his college friends prized as I did. I was introduced to Charles Wentworth Upham at a little party of young people in Boston, in 1817. As he never entered the Latin School, I was surprised to meet him a little while afterwards at Cambridge, at the examination for admission, when we entered College together. In Boston, he had been the guest of his relative, Mr. Phineas Upham, a well-known merchant, who, at his own charge, undertook to send him to the University. Upham distinguished himself as a good scholar from the start. Robert Woodward Barnwell, of South Carolina, early proved himself our first scholar, Upham the second; and they kept the same relative rank through the four years. The two became excellent friends from their first meeting; and I remember that, on leaving College, after taking their degrees, they travelled together for many weeks in the British Provinces; and Barnwell thence went home to South Carolina, where he still lives, and has never revisited Massachusetts. Upham returned to Cambridge to study divinity. Long afterward, Upham and Barnwell met in Washington, when both were members of Congress, I believe, in the same year. Mr. Upham was always the chairman of our class committee, and always present at our annual meetings on Commencement Day, till we reached our fiftieth anniversary, when we voted to discontinue them. In College, his chum was Benjamin Tyler Reed, through all the four years, — a most happy arrangement for both; for Reed was the best-hearted man in College, never aspired to scholarship, but was proud of his chum, and delighted in defending him from all interruptions, and their mutual regard lasted through the lives of both.

Mr. Upham had a fine person, a rare social talent, and recommended himself by the facility of his conversation and his strong interest in personal history. His manners were frank and attractive, and his repertory of men and events large. The state of his health confined him in his later years to his home; but his rare visits were very dear, I can well remember, to his early friends.

With kind regards,

R. W. Emerson.

Mr. Upham's mother died in her own home, in 1826; leaving, beside him, three daughters, who all continued to reside in the Provinces. Two of them still survive: Mrs. Sophia Livingston Winniett, widow of Alexander Winniett, who was a son of the high sheriff of Annapolis, and a brother of Sir William Winniett; and Mrs. Kathron Elizabeth Putnam Upham Pagan, widow of Judge George Pagan, of New Brunswick. Another sister, now deceased, Frances Chandler Upham, was the wife of the Honorable John Wesley Weldon, Judge

of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, whose son, Charles W. Weldon, is a prominent lawyer at St. John.

The most attractive course which the college at Cambridge offered at that time, for young men zealous for high culture, true scholarship, and for effective work in elevating the community, was the study of theology with a view to an entrance upon the Christian ministry. During the period of Mr. Upham's pupilage, and for a few years before and afterwards, it may almost be said that zeal and ambition warmed in that direction to a passion. Running the eye over the college catalogue, it appears that the names of more than seventy of the young men who were contemporaries of Upham, in one or more years of his course, are printed in *italics;* indicating that they were actually ordained as ministers, while many others pursued the preparatory studies without finally devoting themselves to the profession. It was in the main, and emphatically, in the interest of critical and exact scholarship engaged upon the Bible, upon theological works and subjects for the enlargement and liberalizing of the religious views of the immediate community, that this zeal was warmed and moved. It must be confessed that it was not one of those exciting periods associated with a pietistic fervor, nor one of those agitating periods incident to the surprises and sharp antagonisms of a reform. The admired and almost revered Buckminster, so young and so gifted, was the first of the graduates of Harvard at the opening of this century to cultivate for himself, and to inspire an emulation in others, for pursuing sacred learning with the help of the higher learning in the classics, and the critical apparatus for the more thorough study and more intelligent interpretation of the Scriptures. That accomplished and accurate Biblical scholar, Professor Andrews Norton, received the impulse in that direction from Buckminster, and communicated it to many others. The immediate community, at least, in which the new scholarship and form of thought and consequent belief found a grateful recognition and a fostering sympathy, was in a state to welcome and respond to the results, in the fresh influences brought to bear upon them in multiplied pamphlets and volumes, and from prominent pulpits. The old tone of reverence, traditional habits and usages, and a faith as yet undiminished in the supreme authority of the Scriptures as the vehicle of a divinely revealed religion, were the basis of the training of the young ministers of that time. But the animating spirit of their study and thought was found in the genial conviction, that the Scriptures, when interpreted with all the best

helps of the lexicon and grammar, and with due regard to the time and circumstances of their authorship, yielded a system of truths and doctrines more large and free and generous, more ennobling, attractive, and favorable to ends of edification, than the traditional creed of New England. It was under the prompting of this profound conviction that all of the young theological students at Cambridge, in those years, concentrated their studies and engaged their pens upon the authentication and exposition of portions of the contents of the Bible. The number of essays and books of this character produced by them, containing more exact and amended translations and comments helping towards the elucidation and more rational reading of the Bible, was sufficient to give distinction to a school, and to constitute a library. The style of ministration from the pulpit, which was the result of such training, was calm, sober, didactic, reverential, and as earnest in tone as was thought to consist with propriety and sincerity.

Mr. Upham, with all the vigor and animation of his strong scholarly tastes, and with the enthusiasm of his kindled zeal, felt all the best influences of his time, place, and surroundings, and he generously responded to them. He made his full contribution to the class of writings just referred to. The period, the influences, and the circumstances of his entrance into the ministry, were of peculiar interest, offering especial excitements and opportunities. It was, among the laity as well as among theological students, a period of quickening and transition in religious inquiries and speculations, — of controversy, indeed, but of a style and range of controversy into which entered some broader and more generous elements, making it something better than an embittered and profitless strife. Nor could his lot have been cast in a more congenial place for his life's work, with richer conditions for a happy home, pleasant surroundings, and strongly woven heart attachments, than in that which was appointed to him. As soon as he had completed his course of preparatory studies, and had made trial of his gifts as a candidate, he was invited to the associate pastorship of the First Church in Salem. There, on Dec. 8, 1824, he was ordained as the colleague of the widely known and eminent Dr. John Prince. This venerated and distinguished man, who would have been regarded as among the most honored of his time as a divine, had not his fame as a philosopher and a lover of pure science made him more generally known, can be named as next to Franklin in the list of our early lovers and servants of natural science. Only his rare modesty and utterly unselfish regards have left him com-

paratively forgotten by the present generation, as he himself failed to assert among his contemporaries any public recognition of his claims. His unpublished letters and papers, and his correspondence with men of science abroad, would even now furnish the evidence and illustrations of his right to a high place on the list of the most honored of practical philosophers. He cultivated many branches of experimental natural science. He made a signal improvement in the construction of the air-pump, — the instrument being still known as "the American air-pump," while its outline has been chosen to represent a constellation in the heavens. He made various improvements in philosophical instruments, the microscope, and the kaleidoscope, and a very ingenious stand for a telescope. Of the last he wrote, in a communication to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences: "I made the brass work myself, and finished it on my birthday, — eighty years old."

Mr. Upham always regarded it as one of the richest privileges of his ministry that he was brought into such close and confidential relations with so wise and good a man, whom he tenderly loved and revered. Dr. Prince lived twelve years after Mr. Upham was ordained as his colleague; and died in 1836, at the age of eighty-five, and after a pastorate of nearly fifty-eight years. Mr. Upham made an affectionate commemoration of him at his decease, and furnished a Memoir of him to the Collections of this Society, and also to the "American Journal of Science and Arts." *

Mr. Upham was married on March 29th, 1826, to Miss Ann Susan, daughter of the honored and learned Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., of Cambridge, to whom this Society is so largely indebted for valued services, and sister of our associate, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. Salem, from this period on to the close of his life, continued to be the residence of Mr. Upham, even under a great variety of professional and official labors which called him away from it. The place — then a town, now a city — may well be described as the centre of his affections. Among all the honored and eminent citizens (and they have been very many) who have been born and have lived in it, there has not been one who was so thoroughly informed in its history, who had made a closer study of its interesting sites and localities, or who more fondly loved and more justly appreciated the memories and services of the men

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* Collections of Mass. Hist. Society, 3d Series, Vol. V. "American Journal of Science and Arts," Vol. XXXI. No. 2.

and women of former generations who were identified with it. He had a taste and genius for the lore and the investigations for which Salem offers such rich material. The simple truth, the uncolored facts of history, were good enough for him, in their burdens of romance, heroism, earnestness, and weight of importance. In his judgment, they did not need, and were none the more engaging or impressive when cunningly wrought in with the nightmare and distempered vapors of a morbid imagination. The place itself was to him invested with the lessons and the charms associated with the lives of seven generations of a peculiar class of men and women, who had subdued a wilderness, met all the rough and hazardous conditions of an exposed position, founded a State, secured through home discipline, school and church, all the safeguards of law, virtue, and piety; and then made it a centre for the world's commerce, and a nursery for producing soldiers, patriots, divines, scholars, philosophers, merchant princes, jurists, and statesmen.

So much, and even more, in the record of Mr. Upham's life must needs be said of the place where he lived more than half a century; because by far the larger part of his laborious studies, as well as his professional services, whether in the pulpit, the schools, the city, the State and national governments, had the most intimate connection with the history and the welfare of Salem. The meeting-house in which he first ministered, and which during his pastorate was replaced by another, occupied the same site on which had stood four previous structures reared successively for the increasing flock of worshippers, beginning with the first exiled band. The discourses which he preached and published on the dedication of the new house, and on the close of the second century of the history of the church, show with what a fond and reverential appreciation he had studied the times and the generations before him. It was with an intense delight that he shared in the gratification felt by many of his fellow-citizens, when the veritable frame and rafters of the first place of worship in Salem were a few years since discovered and identified in an obscure place to which they had been removed, and were set up again in exact renewal of form and materials. Beneath those rough-hewn oaken beams, cut when there was no saw-mill in the colony, with no ornament of carving, plaster, or paint, for beautifying the rude sanctuary, his predecessors, Roger Williams and Hugh Peters, had preached and prayed, and the honored Governor Winthrop, on a visit to Salem, had exercised his gift of exhortation. The records

in which he entered the incidents of his ministry were in the series of those in which a remarkable succession of men, as pastors preceding him, had made similar entries. Besides the founder of a State and the famous Regicide, of historic names just mentioned, Higginson, Barnard, and Prince were, for their virtues, talents, and faithful service, of high renown and esteem.

In the list of Mr. Upham's published writings, — not to mention those which he has left in manuscript, — it will be observed how largely the subjects of them are concerned with the annals of Salem and the biographies of those who lived in it. He could reproduce, in their order and situations, the old homesteads and bounds of farms of successive owners, and trace the steps by which the rocky headlands, with their borderings of forest, stream, and hill-tops, had been tamed into garden homes and scenes of busy thrift. The extensive, world-wide commercial enterprise of Salem in its most prosperous days, by its ship-owners and opulent merchants, put many of the citizens into correspondence with foreigners, gave them opportunities of travel, and brought to the town fresh supplies for valuable libraries and all the appliances of luxury. The East India Marine Museum, with its rich and curious gatherings of wonders of all kinds from the other hemisphere, and from all islands and oceans, is a most significant illustration of the wide rovings of those who presented their trophies to form this collection. To investigate, verify, and present in an instructive and attractive form, the local history and the personal characters and achievements of the town and its inhabitants, was for the remainder of Mr. Upham's life his most loved work. There is a remarkable exercise of discrimination, of a sound judgment, and of a catholic spirit, in Mr. Upham's method and tone of writing about the original exiles in Salem and their immediate descendants. He had a rare skill in interpreting their characters by the circumstances which had formed them, by the times in which they lived, and the exigencies of their enterprise. What there was to be regretted or blamed in their rigid ways and severe courses he fairly recognized ; but claimed for it palliation, and even respect, when truly dealt with.

While he was eminently faithful, during the score of years through which his professional relations extended, to all his duties in the pulpit and as a pastor, according to the exacting standard of the period, he was a most diligent student in his library. The ministers of the old New England churches, till within a recent period, have generally been the best-educated

and the best-informed persons resident in the respective towns. With very rare exceptions, all the local and general histories of the original settlements, and the biographies of the men and women of distinction or great worth, have come from their pens. Salem, at one period, was more rich in its collections of books and means of culture than was Boston. Drs. Prince and Bentley put all their seafaring parishioners into service to bring them literary pabulum from all continents and islands. Mr. Upham continued to pursue the line of professional studies on which he had entered at Cambridge, especially in the department of Scriptural exegesis and interpretation. He published, in 1828, a small volume entitled "Letters on the Logos"; in which he aimed to show that the real significance of the term translated "the Word" in the opening of the Gospel of St. John, and in other places in the New Testament, was not to be found, as some of his own school of theologians had maintained, in the Platonizing writings of the Alexandrians of a later period, but in the conceptions, the literature, and the forms of speech of the Jews in the time of the evangelist. In 1835, he published, as the fruit of much study and learning, an extended treatise as "A Discourse on Prophecy as an Evidence of Christianity." The argument of this treatise does not rest so much on the fulfilment of specific predictions of local events, as on the provisions within the Jewish religion and system for expansion and extension.

He was a very frequent contributor during his ministry, as through the remainder of his life, to various periodical works in literature, history, and theology; and also to the newspapers, on matters of local or public interest. His discourses at the dedication of the new house of worship of the First Church, in 1826, reprinted the next year, and that on the "Principles of Congregationalism," on the completion of its second century, in 1829, engaged alike his spirit of thorough research and his love for the characters and services of his revered predecessors and their associates. In a postscript to the latter publication, he makes a study and estimate of the character of Hugh Peters. In the same year, he published a discourse, which he delivered on the Sunday after the decease of the Hon. Timothy Pickering, with a notice of his life. His Memoir of his colleague has been already referred to. Discourses preached by him before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston, in 1832; on the Anniversary of the Association of the First Parish in Hingham, in 1832; a sermon on "The Glory of God," and a "Discussion

of the Scripture Doctrine of Regeneration," — also appeared in print. His "Lectures on Witchcraft, comprising a History of the Delusion in Salem, in 1692," appeared in two editions in 1831 and 1832. Of the subsequent revision of his examination of this melancholy theme, and of the remarkable work which he wrote and published near the close of his life, mention will be made in its place. In 1835, he wrote for Mr. Sparks's American Biography a "Life of Sir Henry Vane," once Governor of Massachusetts. The book is a charming production, alike for the diligent study of which it is the fruit, and for the enthusiasm of fond appreciation of its subject. The Massachusetts Board of Education authorized the republication of this Life in its school library. It was also so highly estimated in England as to lead to its being substantially reproduced in an English family cyclopedia, without a recognition of its real authorship, the name of an Englishman being substituted. Mr. Upham delivered the municipal oration at Salem, on July 4, 1842, and the oration before the New England Pilgrim Society in New York, Dec. 22, 1846; both of which were published, the latter in two editions. He published brief biographies of Colonel Timothy Pickering, of Edward Everett, and of John Quincy Adams in the "National Portrait Gallery," Vols. I. and IV., 1834 and 1839; an article on the British Navigation Act, in Hunt's "Merchants' Magazine," in 1841; a discourse on the National Fast on the death of President Harrison, in 1841; and an article on "The English Reformation," in the "Christian Examiner" for 1844. At the earnest solicitation of gentlemen acting in behalf of the Massachusetts Board of Education, he prepared a "Life of Washington" for school libraries. The plan and method of the work were to make Washington substantially his own biographer, in extracts from his own writings, in conformity with an intimation by himself that his biography might be so constructed. Of course, so far as this could be done, — as it could be only for some portions of his life, — the work would have the prime value of an autobiography, as Mr. John Bigelow has recently so successfully dealt with the "Life of Dr. Franklin." But the publishers of the copyrighted edition of "The Writings of Washington, edited by Jared Sparks," from which work the materials would have been largely taken, obtained an injunction from the court against the issue of Mr. Upham's two volumes. These were accordingly suppressed, and, as Mr. Upham for a period of more than ten years fully believed, the suppression was effectual. He had seen the work which he had prepared only

fragmentarily in print, as the proof-sheets had been sent to him for revision. But in all probability the stereotype plates for it, prepared here, were surreptitiously carried over to England; for the work, without a single alteration, omission, or addition, appeared in England, purporting to have been printed in London, at the office of the "National Illustrated Library, 227 Strand, 1852," — two volumes duodecimo, pp. 443, 423. It had a large circulation; but the mystery of the transmission and of the agent in the matter was never cleared to the author.

Mr. Upham greatly enjoyed his professional position and duties, combined and varied as they were by a range of studies and of local and social relations which were helpful to his special vocations. He formed the closest friendships with his fellow-citizens, and was fondly faithful to the claims on him as a pastor. But he was afflicted with a severe and obstinate bronchial affection, against which he long struggled, hoping that he might recover his power of public speaking. Being disappointed in his hopes, he resigned his office, Dec. 8, 1844; thus completing a ministry of a score of years. He then became an occupant, for the remainder of his life, of a pew in the church whose pulpit he had served with eminent ability. It was not till after an interval of two or three years that he could venture again, with great caution, to use his voice in addressing any public meeting. But the tedium of partial invalidism was relieved by occupations and a diligent use of his books in his library. From March, 1845, to March, 1846, he was the editor of the "Christian Register," a weekly paper published in Boston. Though this paper was established and supported in the interest of Unitarianism, a cursory view of the leading editorials from his pen, as well as of his general management of it, shows that his aim in conducting it was by no means limited by any sectarian views or objects. The respect entertained for him in Salem, and his own varied capacities for some forms of public service in behalf of the common interests of the community, engaged him again in such service as soon as he had but partially recovered his vocal power. From August, 1851, to August, 1852, he was in the employ of the Board of Education in Massachusetts; his duty being to visit the schools in the State, and to address the people in public assemblies in their behalf, in furtherance of the best interests of education. This he did in more than a hundred towns. Being elected Mayor of the city of Salem in 1852, he reorganized its police system; introducing that which has ever since been in effective operation there. He

also secured from the Legislature the appropriations and provisions for the establishment of a State Normal School in that city, which continues to accomplish its high purpose.

Mr. Upham represented Salem in the Massachusetts Legislature in the years 1849, 1859, and 1860. He was a member of the State Senate in 1850, 1857, and 1858; being in each of the last two years chosen the presiding officer, by a unanimous vote. He was a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1853. In each and all of these places of influence and trust, Mr. Upham was chiefly engaged in efforts to advance the interests of education in the district and high schools, and in the endowment of the colleges. He also advised measures for the amendment and simplification of the terms of language in the statute law of the Commonwealth.

His principal publications during this period were the following: Speech in the Massachusetts House of Representatives on the Compromises of the Constitution, with the Ordinance of 1787, Feb. 20, 1849; Report of Committee on Reprinting the Tenth Report of the late Secretary of the Board of Education, 1849; Report of Committee of Education on the Custody and Preservation of Public Documents, 1849; Report of Committee on the Reimbursement of the Secretary, Horace Mann, 1849; Report of Committee on the Age of Children to be admitted to the Common Schools, 1849; Essex County Whig Address, 1849; Report in the Massachusetts Senate of a Committee on the National Monument at Washington, 1850; Remarks in the Senate on the Plurality Bill, 1850; Report of Committee on Education on Aid to New Salem Academy, Senate, 1850; Eulogy of Zachary Taylor, delivered in Salem, July 18, 1850, at the request of the city authorities; Report in the Senate of Committee on Education on the Visitation of Normal Schools, 1851; Address, as Mayor of Salem, on Organization of the City Government, 1852.

The qualities and abilities which Mr. Upham had exhibited in his city magistracy, and in both branches of the State Legislature, naturally prompted a desire on the part of his fellow-citizens and neighbors to avail themselves of his services in the National Congress. He was chosen to represent the Sixth District of the State in the Thirty-third Congress of the United States, 1853–1855. His term was at an anxious and stormy interval in our public affairs, — perhaps, however, not peculiarly so, as our whole national development has repeated such exciting periods with but rare intermissions. He had not been one of the original Abolition party, but was a

steadfast Whig, and both led and followed the main constituency of that party in its transition into the Free Soil and Republican organizations. His first effort in Congress was in the interest of securing a permanent and dignified administration and form of high service for the Smithsonian Institution, for the formation, security, and wise direction of which the nation is indebted chiefly to the persistent fidelity of John Quincy Adams. Mr. Upham was chairman of a select committee on the condition and management of the Institution, and to suggest the direction and improvement of its means of public utility. In his report he laid chief stress upon the feasibility and advantages of making it the basis of a national library, on a scale so extended, and with such selected materials, as would make it worthy of a nation of foremost rank and growing to a nobler development, and adapted as a means for the diffusion through this nation of comprehensive knowledge as one of the conditions of its strength and glory.

The special struggle in Congress during his term was that connected with the Kansas and Nebraska Bill. He made a vigorous speech on this exciting theme in the House of Representatives, on May 10, 1854. He directed a portion of it in debate to a reply to a member from South Carolina, who had said that the only practicable or desirable way for bringing to an issue the question which was distracting the nation was an armed conflict. To this heated utterance Mr. Upham responded: "The honorable member has intimated that perhaps it would be well to abandon the policy of compromises, and for the two great conflicting interests to meet face to face, and end the matter at once. I have suggested the reasons why, heretofore, I have contemplated such an issue with reluctance. But if the South say so, so let it be." The challenge and its acceptance were sad forebodings of the issue. In the same speech Mr. Upham predicted, as a sure consequence of abrogating the Missouri Compromise, the firm combination of the Free States in resistance to the further extension of Slavery, if not to its continued existence. "Heretofore," said he, "the South has profited by our divisions. Those divisions have arisen to a great degree from the restraining and embarrassing influence of a sense of obligation, on our part, to adhere to the engagements and stand up to the bargains made by the fathers, and renewed, as I have shown, by each succeeding generation. But let those engagements be violated, let those bargains be broken by the South, on the ground of unconstitutionality, or any other pretence, — from that hour the North becomes a unit and indi-

visible. From that hour 'Northern men with Southern principles' will disappear from the scene, and the race of *Dough Faces* be extinct for ever."

In another speech delivered in the House, Feb. 27, 1855, the topics discussed were "Mediation in the Eastern War," "The Institutions of Massachusetts," "The Ordinance of 1787." In vindicating Massachusetts from some attacks which had been made on her in debate, he said: —

"On a map of the American Union, the State occupies scarcely a discernible space. In territory it is one of the smallest of our States. There are but three smaller, — Connecticut, Delaware, and Rhode Island. But, sir, there are only three States that exceed it in free population, and but five that exceed it in their aggregate population, counting the whole number of slaves; and each of these five States is from five to nine times as large, and incomparably more fertile. The soil of Massachusetts is hard and cold, and yields only to patient and incessant labor. Her surface is, for the most part, rough, barren, and sandy. Her only natural exports, and they have but recently been converted into sources of wealth, are granite from her hills and promontories; marble from the Berkshire mountains, rising before our eyes in polished forms of architectural beauty in the wings of this Capitol; and the ice of her lakes, transported as a luxury to tropical regions all around the globe. But intelligent industry and agricultural science, taste, and enterprise are gradually spreading a garden over her surface. The traveller is amazed at the wealth, beauty, and animation of more than three hundred cities and towns included within her narrow boundaries. The stir of busy life pervades the scene like the sunshine; Nature catches the spirit of happy industry, and the brooks that leap and sparkle down the hills and through the valleys, at every step turn the wheels of factories, around which thriving villages gather. Scarcely a spot so secluded as not to be adorned with church spires and vocal with the merry voices of children wending their way to district schools. I look upon Massachusetts, Mr. Chairman, as one of the most remarkable instances of social and political development exhibited in *the whole range of history;* and, as such, well worthy of being held up to the contemplation of legislators and statesmen here and elsewhere."

Mr. Upham afterwards wrote, in connection with this warm praise of Massachusetts, the following reflections: —

"It is an interesting circumstance that a commission of a large number of the ablest statists and men of science, appointed by the Emperor of France to make a thorough examination of the progress of the arts and sciences throughout the world, and taking its point of view at the date of the delivery of the speech just referred to, that is, the year 1855, in a report made by its chairman, Baron Charles Dupin, gives to Massachusetts pre-eminence amongst all States and nations in the

height to which it has carried its achievements in industry, arts, and the general advancement of society."

On an incidental matter relating to his personal position as a son of a proscribed Loyalist, Mr. Upham gave an earnest expression of his feelings in the same speech; exhibiting a generous magnanimity, of which it would have been grateful if our country had offered more occasions for sincere utterance. He was to be succeeded in his place of representative by one who belonged to the "Know-Nothing" or Native American party, at the time when that organization was in notoriety. He, of course, belonged to the proscribed class. In the speech just quoted, he makes the following reference to the accident of his *foreign* birth: —

"Let not gentlemen say that it ill becomes me to stand up for Massachusetts, inasmuch as she has included me in a proscription that embraces several millions of our countrymen. No temporary phase of public sentiment; no popular excitement of the hour; no political prejudice, even if it express itself in a blow aimed at me personally, — can estrange my heart from the State where I have found a happy home during a life not now short, and in whose soil rest the ashes of my ancestors and of my children. I have ever found an enthusiastic satisfaction in illustrating her local annals. Her schools shed upon my grateful opening mind the lights of education, and my mature life has been devoted to her service to the extent of my ability. I have received at the hands of her people all the honors I ever dreamed of; and more, I most deeply feel, than I have deserved. The profoundest convictions of my soul require me to condemn, and, when the issue shall be distinctly made, in a proper spirit to resist, the policy that attempts to reduce one-sixth of her population to political subordination and inferiority. But no man has a claim to office; and no one, with the spirit of a freeman, can complain of the results of elections, so far as they affect him individually. I do not complain. On the contrary, I feel particularly prompted to pay homage to Massachusetts at this time. It is more agreeable to my self-respect to vindicate her name now than it would have been when within the reach of her favors."

The interest which Mr. Upham took in the subjects so warmly agitated when he was in Congress, and his mastery of the bearings and momentous character of the issues at stake, are shown in two articles which he contributed to the "North American Review," in October, 1854, on "The Reciprocity Treaty," and in January, 1855, on "Kansas and Nebraska."

In an address at the opening of the Republican Reading Room, in Salem, in April, 1856, he made a very lucid and intelligent exposition of "The Present State of Parties." Sharing in the enthusiasm felt at the time for the prowess

and enterprise of Mr. Fremont, the so-called "Pathfinder," and believing that his intrepid and vigorous zeal as an explorer was evidence of his capacity to serve his country in other departments requiring manliness and public spirit, he produced, in 1856, a substantial work of lively interest, entitled the "Life, Explorations, and Public Services of John Charles Fremont."

Resuming his place in the Massachusetts Senate in 1857, we find in print, during his term of service, a "Speech on the Bill for the Extension of the Credit of the Eastern Railroad Corporation," April 11, 1857, and "Speech on the Kansas Resolves," May 7, 1857. With that wonderful variety of office-holding which resulted from the desire of those who loved and respected him to make sure of his services in one or another place of public service, he is found again, as before mentioned, a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1859 and 1860. And again he manifests his interest in what he regarded as a paramount concern of the State. In a report of the Committee on Education, March 29, he deals with the school district system; and in another report of a joint standing committee, on the day following, he discusses the subject of academies endowed by the State.

In his several terms of service, in both branches of the State Legislature, Mr. Upham retained that esteem and confidence of his constituents which had moved them to give him his offices; and he secured the warm respect of his associates. As the presiding officer of the Senate, he was well informed as to the order of business and the rules of debate, dignified and urbane in his bearing and address, and considerate of all that concerned the rights, privileges, and high functions of that select legislative body. And, in alternating as a member of the Senate and the House of Representatives, he seemed to feel that a place in either of them was one of equal honor and opportunity to do good service to the State. His chief efforts, as has been seen, were given to the interests of public education in the various grades of the schools; in providing for them competent and accomplished teachers, improved books, methods, and apparatus, and in extending and strengthening their influence to ends conformed to the noble aims of the founders of the State, with the help of all the increased prosperity and intelligence of the later generations. Being indebted for the first frugal earnings of his laborious life to a slender compensation for teaching country schools in his winter vacations at college, he loved to renew and strengthen his

zeal in their behalf by some continuous relation to them through his whole career. His unstudied extemporaneous remarks when visiting the schools, as well as his carefully prepared addresses all over the State, gave evidence alike of his desire for, and of his rich abilities in, helping towards their elevation and improvement.

As a speaker in the chair of the Senate, or on the floor of the House, though Mr. Upham may not have exhibited the rarest gifts of oratorical grace or genius, he always held the attention and engaged the respect and full consideration of his colleagues. As a preacher for a score of years, he had acquired no pulpit mannerisms, either of dulness or of heat and exaggeration in utterance. He had a finely toned voice, he used precision of method in his plan and arguments, and fortified the position which he assumed by a fulness of knowledge, a candor of spirit, and an intent to insure conviction or persuasion by fair means for noble ends. In the frequent cases that have occurred in this especially, as in the other New England States, of an exchange of the pulpit for the legislative hall, the experiment has not always proved a success in the speech or the influence of the men who have tried it. But in Mr. Upham's case there was never any professional incongruity or infelicity apparent in his exchange of positions. The main assurance and condition of his being listened to with confidence in either place were fully enjoyed by him in having secured the sincere respect and affectionate regard of all who knew him as a religious teacher or a legislator. Purity of character, elevation of aim, high courtesy in intercourse, and a well-furnished, well-trained mind were his sufficient claims to consideration.

Fifteen years of life remained to Mr. Upham after he retired from his last public service in the Legislature, in 1860. Though enough of vigor of mind and body still were left with him for valuable literary task work, and for pleasant, social intercourse, he began to feel the need of caution in maintaining all his energies. It was a point of duty with him to be regular and constant in his attendance in the halls of the State House and in his work in the committee rooms. The exertion and exposure involved in a daily transit to and from the city had their effect upon him. He welcomed, therefore, the comparative retirement of his home. Gifts and legacies from warmly attached friends furnished him with ample means for his modest mode of life. His books, — those on his own shelves, the accumulations of his years of study, and the gatherings from the distribution of public documents, and

the stores of various libraries within his reach, — yielded the materials for his enjoyment and solace, as well as for the severer search for truth. The apartment in which he pursued his work had that comfortable home-like aspect and furnishing which adapted it for its purposes. The simple, unadorned shelves were filled to the ceiling with their well-arranged and serviceable volumes. Spare spaces on the walls admitted the portraits of children and friends as visible helps for memorials of those who had gone from earth. The writer of these pages, in transient visits, was always impressed by the order and tidiness of that plain library, wholly free from the usual clutter and confusion of a scholar's work-room. The writing-table had no heap or maze of papers, only showing the book or sheet of immediate use.

He prepared, among other manuscripts, for delivery before lyceums, a Life of Roger Williams, a Life of Hugh Peters, and a Life of Sir George Downing, — all three of those men of fame having personal associations with Salem. Another of his lectures was upon History and Biography. The Essex Institute, of which he was one of the founders, and in the management of which he was officially interested, was an object of his devoted love and labor. Its rich collections of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, portraits, and relics of the worthies of the generations of the olden time in Salem, and its valuable modern accretions, was a repository in the improvement of which he enjoyed many hours almost daily. Its meetings owed much to him for their interest, while they imparted to him through his associates high pleasure. His voice and pen were always devoted to fond tributes of such of those associates as preceded him in the way for all. The publications of the Institute are enriched by many of his contributions.

Mr. Upham was not so engrossed by these congenial occupations of the scholar as to intermit in any degree the friendly, social, and domestic intercourse incident to his former professional duties. On the contrary, he kept every link in the chain of affection, sympathy, and neighborly relation, strong and bright. Old friends and new ones found him at their doors and by their firesides, with his genial presence, kindly and judicious in speech and judgment, mature in wisdom, with an overflow of knowledge and stores of personal experience, a memory that never loosed its hold upon its vanished objects, and a radiant religious trust which heightened the sunlight of life.

Mention has already been made of the publication by Mr. Upham of a series of "Lectures on Witchcraft," in a small

volume, of which two editions appeared in 1831 and 1832. There were very many reasons of a general and a special character why his interest should have been intently centred upon this melancholy subject. He was living, as a distinguished representative citizen, in a town whose name and fame, though they might well have been committed to quite other and worthier historic and contemporaneous grounds for a world-wide recognition, were unfortunately shadowed by one of those popular misrepresentations, natural perhaps, but most unjust, which originate wrongs that hardly admit of redress. "Salem Witchcraft," "The Witch-Town," are epithets and phrases as misleading as they are familiar. Mr. Upham probably knew, before he became a resident of the town, not only that New England had no signal responsibility above Old England, and all other parts of Christendom at the time, in that stark delusion of "Witchcraft," but he may also have been aware that it was wholly from fortuitous circumstances that the temporary frenzy, caused by the outbreak of the delusion here, concentrated among a few scattered yeomen's homes in a village within the territorial bounds of Salem. But the interest, alike of curiosity and of local pride, felt by him in a place which was to be his cherished home for more than half a century, would soon engage one of his inquisitive mind and ardor in the investigation of historic truth in asking why and how it was that the old settlement, for a period the commercial emporium of New England, the birthplace and residence of so many eminent men, should be burdened with such reproach? Within the circuit of his daily walks were still standing dwellings whose innocent and beloved inmates, after suffering all the indignities and wretchedness of suspicion, accusation, and conviction of being in a dark complot with the Evil One, had been ruthlessly imprisoned, deprived of all human sympathy, executed on the gallows, and thrust for burial without religious rites into crevices of the rocks. The hill on which those executions took place, and where the remains of most of the victims were thus insulted, was near to Mr. Upham's residence, remaining then, as it does to-day, in its original state. His own church records contained grim entries of the ecclesiastical judgment following the sentences of the civil court against those victims. The lectures which Mr. Upham so early in his ministry prepared and published were highly appreciated by the public, and for more than thirty years after they were wholly out of print he was constantly and earnestly solicited to allow more editions of them. But he had become well satisfied that the treat-

ment which he had given in them of his sombre theme was wholly inadequate. Very much of his leisure, when he was free from public cares to give himself to literary and historical studies, was devoted, not merely to the investigation of the local details and incidents connected with the outburst of the frenzy in Salem, but to a most thorough and well-nigh exhaustive examination of the subject of Witchcraft in the annals of the world. He collected all the sources of information within his reach for the study of the subject, — theologically, philosophically, and in its historical development, — as it had been treated by divines, pontiffs, monarchs, legislators, civilians, physicians, and jurists, and while it cast its shadow at one time over all Christendom, had numbered its victims by hundreds of thousands. The saddest incident in the tragic rehearsal was that the wisest and best men of their ages and countries, who might have been looked to as lights and guides for the bewildered people, had given their testimony to the reality and enormity of the crime of Witchcraft.

Of course, Mr. Upham at once realized the mistake and injustice which had emphasized Salem for evil fame in responsibility for a prominent and almost exclusive agency in the tragic scenes of the year 1692. It was not because of any thing peculiar to that locality, as regarded its inhabitants or their opinions or experiences, that the frenzy of fanaticism and cruelty culminated there. In any town of either of the Colonies, the same instigating agencies at that time would have found the same material of credulity and delusion for exciting a local panic connected with a supposed onset of the Prince of Darkness. After Mr. Upham had thoroughly informed himself about his subject in its broadest relations, following it into all its dark and mysterious intricacies, he justly felt that it was in his power, and was consequently a matter of obligation to him, to write upon it in a way to meet the highest demands of truth, — in fidelity to history and in the treatment of a profoundly serious theme in its psychological and religious relations. The result of his researches and reflections appeared in a work in two substantial volumes, published in 1867, entitled "Salem Witchcraft; with an Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects." The author had in view two very distinct objects in the matter and method of this work. One was to deal with the subject of "Witchcraft" independently of any local relations or manifestations, as expressing one of the beliefs or superstitions that for long ages had had a universal prevalence, recognized in all the ecclesi-

astical and judicial processes of a common Christendom, and as a matter of a continuous historical development in all social communities, with periodical outbursts in various places. So far as the subject admitted of being treated by the help of the laws of cause and effect, he essayed what might serve as an explanation of the phenomena of Witchcraft. His second object was, so far as full truth and rational argument founded on facts would allow, to relieve the town of Salem of the especial reproach visited upon it as having fortuitously been the locality on the American continent where a world-wide delusion found temporarily an occasion and materials for an outbreak. It was in the investigations incident to realizing this latter object that Mr. Upham wrought out a volume, which the writer ventures to pronounce unique in its character and method, of most engaging and curious interest in its contents, and as exhibiting a genius in a mode of research and of narrative which would impart to all local history a life-like realism for instructing and absorbing a reader. It is because the writer of this Memoir puts such an estimate upon Mr. Upham's "Account of Salem Village" that he has allowed himself so extended a reference to the matter of one of Mr. Upham's most laborious studies. He set himself to trace out, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, the materials, conditions, experiences, and social, domestic, and religious relations of the inhabitants of a rural hamlet on their widely scattered farms and in their rude dwellings, which admitted or aided in the generating of the primary elements for an outburst of the witchcraft mania. No village community on this continent, nor indeed on any other, has ever been the subject of such a keen and scrutinizing inquisition into the character, relations, and experiences of the people living in it while taming it from a dismal wilderness to civilization, as Mr. Upham concentrated upon Salem Village. A law of the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1647, had provided that all testimony which was to be brought forward in judicial proceedings, — in all cases whatever, petty or serious, — should be written down or dictated by the witnesses, and produced to be read before the courts. Files and masses of such papers have been preserved, relating to all the variances, disputes, embitterments, and controversies, the neighborly and domestic alienations and feuds, in our primitive communities, alike in civil and in religious matters. From the minute investigation of collections of such papers concerning the people and the annals of Salem Village, Mr. Upham derived the materials for an almost marvellous reproduction of the very persons and

families living there in 1692. He had traced the stern and grim surroundings and experiences of the first wilderness settlers in forests, thickets, and swamps, as they built their rude homes, opened their rough highways, set their watch upon Indian prowlers, and concerned themselves with the securities of law and gospel. All the earthly conditions of their lot had an element of gloom ; and though their religion invigorated and nerved them, it threw around them other deep shadows. From the limitations of themes and helps to engage and expand the mind, from hard domestic struggles, from private grudges, from infelicities and misfortunes of personal experiences, from controversies and bickerings among neighbors, and from heart-burnings generated by religious teachers of ill-temper and weak judgment, were wrought out the conditions and agencies for producing and heightening any strong excitement, the nature and direction of which might be decided by the merest accident. The period, too, was one of special causes for depression and dismal forebodings for the people of the whole Colony, whose charter-rights and securities had just been prostrated, and whose apprehensions harried them with dread of anarchy, even though they should save themselves from the woes of French and Indian warfare.

How, in such a community of people, and under such conditions, a spark of mischief generated by the uncanny tricks of a group of children, and at once blown into a flame by the advice of minister, doctor, and magistrate, — who of course shared in a universal delusion, — blazed out into consequences grouped under the phrase "Salem Witchcraft," may be learned from Mr. Upham's volumes. The pages, though often so harrowing, have an absorbing spell, which even enthrals and fascinates. The author was aided by his two thoroughly competent and industrious sons in his documentary investigations, and in the preparation of maps, diagrams, and illustrations for securing the verisimilitude of his work, than which there is no more creditable or instructive contribution to our New England history.

The writer of these pages, soon after the publication of the volumes, enjoyed the high privilege of visiting and inspecting, under the guidance of Mr. Upham and his filial coadjutors, the scenes and dwellings identified with the tragic history. It was on a beautiful day in autumn, with tempered, bracing air, and a rich, mellow radiance of the atmosphere resting with a calm peace over the ancient homes and the reposing fields of those who had suffered fearful tribulations. One of

these dwellings, the so-called Townsend Bishop House, was the home of that saintly woman, beloved and revered for all domestic and Christian virtues, — Rebecca Nourse, a conspicuous and submissive victim of the delusion. In the adjoining field reposed her poor relics, rescued by loving hands from a rocky crevice on "Witch-Hill." The house, built before there was a saw-mill in the Colony, showed its ancient beams, rafters, and planks, hewn out by axe and adze. Down the same old stone steps of the ancient cellar-way, and up under the forest-curved oaken timbers of the roof, the occupants were gathering in the two hundred and thirtieth successive harvest from the well-wrought acres of the farm. All the surroundings had their burdened memories; not wholly painful, for the purchase-cost of human woe and endurance having been paid, light and truth and wisdom, with grateful appreciation and sympathy, kept the gain. The kindly and thoughtful mien of the historian who had so faithfully and skilfully opened the sad story was the reconciling medium between the past and the present.

In an article which appeared in the "North American Review," in April, 1869, Mr. Upham was sharply challenged and criticised for the alleged injustice of his severe treatment of the Rev. Cotton Mather for his agency in the Witchcraft delusion, as a ready, restless, and zealous abettor of the superstitions from which it started, and of the distressing horrors in which it culminated. Mr. Upham replied to this criticism, reinforcing all his original statements and arguments in an extended and elaborate communication which he made to the "New York Historical Magazine," edited by Henry B. Dawson, September, 1869. This is not the place for examining the facts of the matter at issue. It is enough to say that Mr. Upham was too thorough in his researches, and too just and candid in his judgment, to misread, pervert, or color the materials for a judicial apprehension of the truth as concerning individuals or events in history. And of Cotton Mather it is to be remembered that at the time when the fervors of his imagination and zeal wrought so heatedly he had not reached his thirtieth year of life.

It was in the same year in which the volumes just referred to were published that Mr. Upham wrote and delivered his elaborate historical discourse at the re-dedication, — after reconstruction, — of the place of worship of the First Church in Salem, Dec. 8, 1867. On July 18 of the next year, 1868, he delivered before the Essex Institute a Memoir of his honored and public-spirited friend, Francis Peabody, which was

published. Mr. Upham took part in the course of lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute in this city, in the years 1868–69, by members of this Historical Society, on subjects relating to the early history of Massachusetts. His lecture, delivered Jan. 26, 1869, was on "The Records of Massachusetts under its First Charter." It has its place in the published volume. In the same year, on April 19, he read, at a meeting of the Essex Institute, a Memoir of his friend, Hon. Daniel P. King, Representative in Congress, which was published by the Institute Press. To the January number for 1873 of the "Universalist Quarterly," he contributed an article on "The Rise of the Republic of the United States."

During the first five years of his ministry in Salem, Mr. Upham numbered among the most honored of the members of his society and church, and among the most revered of his friends, the Hon. Timothy Pickering. This distinguished patriot died in Salem, in 1829, in his eighty-fourth year. He had enjoyed a calm old age, largely occupied with his farm, after all the varied public services, military and civil, of his crowded life. Mr. Upham had found one of his best prized satisfactions in intimate confidential converse with this eminent man, who retained the principles and characteristics of his old Puritan lineage, with a trace of its ruggedness, rather softened than wholly put aside by the mixture of the rough and the gentle elements of his own experience. In close intercourse with him, Mr. Upham learned much, not to be found in books, of the events and the men, the secret agencies and the partially understood complications of our Revolutionary age. The colonel found in his pastor an inquisitive and an attentive companion. They also discussed together the sanctions and doctrines of revelation, questions of Biblical interpretation, and matters of religious concern. On the death of Colonel Pickering, his father's chum in college, Mr. Upham, who had attended his last days by his bedside, paid him the cordial tribute of respect and love in the place where he had been a constant and devout worshipper.

The colonel, who had been most systematic in his habits of keeping a journal, in preserving letters from, and copies of his own to, his correspondents, as well as the enormous files of documents relating to his official career and duties in so many public departments, left behind him a vast collection of papers, carefully arranged and adapted for historical and biographical use. This valuable mass of manuscript is now committed to the Cabinet of our Historical Society. The last

surviving son of Colonel Pickering, the late Octavius Pickering, had undertaken, after the death of his elder brother, the late Hon. John Pickering, — the foremost scholar of his time among us, — to continue the biography of their father, which the elder brother had barely begun to prepare. Mr. Octavius Pickering had prepared and published a single volume of an intended series, in 1867. Just before his death, the next year, he had directed that the completion of the biography should be committed to Mr. Upham. Though Mr. Upham had about that time felt the first symptoms of a local malady which kept him much at home, impaired his bodily vigor, and finally caused his death, and might therefore reasonably feel a misgiving whether he should live to complete the task, he accepted it with gratitude. After spending more than three years of labor over the colonel's manuscripts, and consulting other sources of illustrative information over a wide field, he had the satisfaction of giving to the press the matter of three additional volumes, which were published in 1873, thus securing, in continuation of the single volume already in print, an adequate "Life of Timothy Pickering." True, the biographer had before him a noble and an elevated subject, with a rich mine of the most authentic and helpful materials for dealing with it. He could honor and revere the man whose course through life he was to trace through adventures, perils, stormy civil and political conflicts, and all the harsh and irritating controversies and alienations involved in high official trusts. But the exercise of a sound and discriminating judgment was also urgently requisite in the biographer. There were matters of delicacy, as regards persons and narratives, with which he had to deal. His entire confidence in the purity of purpose and the thorough patriotism of Colonel Pickering enabled him to treat all the acts, incidents, and measures of his personal and official career which at different periods drew upon him censure, and even obloquy, not in the spirit of advocacy or championship, but in the candid spirit of a narrator and editor of authentic papers. For instance, it was a matter of current notoriety that Colonel Pickering had disparaged Washington. Such basis as the rumor or allegation had in fact is put before the reader of the biography in a frank and interesting way, and all that was of unkindly or unjust interpretation or inference connected with the matter is effectually disposed of. The incidental themes falling within the line of his narrative in tracing the private and public career of Colonel Pickering, and to the rehearsal of which the biographer brings a vigorous and charm-

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ing style, are such as the following: The treatment of the Tories in our Revolutionary struggle; the business of Colonel Pickering as agent in the adjudication on prizes; his intervals of occupation as a farmer; his perilous and romantic experiences in the Valley of Wyoming, as a pioneer settler; his advocacy in the adoption of the Constitution; his admirable advice and course as a commissioner among the Indians; his services as Postmaster-General; his position and influence in the first formation of parties in the new Republic; his services in the Cabinets of Washington and John Adams; his agency in the establishment of the West Point Military Academy; his correspondence, as Secretary of State, with foreign governments; his rupture with John Adams; his course as Senator and Representative in the National Congress; his views of the policy involved in the second war with Great Britain; and his interest in the promotion of agriculture in connection with the calm employment of his advanced years. Probably no more congenial work could have occupied the interval of retired leisure just preceding the disabling physical infirmities of the last three years of Mr. Upham's life, than that of re-reading the struggling and critical incidents attending the birth and early pupilage of our nation as illustrated in the career of one of its ablest, most conspicuous, and faithful patriots.

Mr. Upham maintained through his whole mature life a diligent and extensive correspondence with private friends and with men in office. He was genial, hearty, free, and confidential in his communications with those whom he esteemed and loved. He commented on the development of opinions and ideas, and he kept fully abreast of the most advanced thought, — at least in acquainting himself with it, — though by no means always with the result of accepting its theories or conclusions. Within the range and department of critical investigation and Biblical study which had so interested him in his original profession, the progress of speculation opened some bold questions which he was contented to leave where he found them. He had no weak timidity which would lead him to discourage or repress any natural restlessness as to the security of accepted foundations and sanctions of religious faith, or the confidence with which some avowed that they had discredited and repudiated these, having found better, or were waiting patiently for a substitute. He had so certified to himself and assimilated the essential verities for consecrating the responsibilities and duties of human life, for perfect reconciliation to the Divine

will, as it leads our way through mysteries and buffetings, and for a calm reliance upon the lessons and hopes of Christ's gospel, that he "kept the faith." It was his reliance and solace when seclusion and pain, by day and by night, cast him upon his own resources of patience and trust.

Among the friends and correspondents with whom for long years Mr. Upham maintained the most hearty and confidential intercourse was Edward Everett, who turned to him freely for sympathy, advice, and sometimes for helpful guidance on exigencies in his brilliant career. This correspondence is preserved, and doubtless on the appearance of the much desired Biography of Mr. Everett will be found of interest.

By a letter not received by Mr. Upham's family till after his decease, — indeed, it was not written till nearly a fortnight after that event had occurred, as it was dated June 27, 1875, — it appeared that he had been elected a Fellow of "the Royal Historical Society of London."

Fifteen children were born to Mr. Upham, only two of whom, William Phinehas and Oliver Wendell Holmes, survive him ; the others, for the most part, dying in very early infancy. The names of family or friendly endearment given in baptism to these deceased children indicate the affectionate purpose of the parents, as the following : Edward Chandler, John Ropes, Mary Wendell, Mary Wilder, Ann Holmes, George Murray, Stephen Higginson, and Francis Chandler, &c. Of the disappointments and griefs attendant upon the succession of such afflictions as darkened his household in these bereavements, the record kept in the hearts of those who bore them is sufficient.

It was on June 15, 1875, — two days preceding the general and enthusiastic Centennial Celebration in Boston and over a wide neighborhood, — that Mr. Upham's life came to a peaceful close. The event was duly recognized by the city authorities and among the friends of the departed, who had been so faithfully served in the varied career, and who so honored and respected the character of the divine, the statesman, the man of letters, and the citizen.

His funeral took place from the First Church, on Friday, June 18, and was attended by a large company of his friends. The Rev. E. S. Atwood, minister of the South Church in Salem, offered prayer. The Rev. J. T. Hewes, Mr. Upham's successor in the First Church, read selections from Scripture, and an address was delivered by the writer of this Memoir. The address is here given.

ADDRESS.

In the midst of all the excitements and observances of our local centennial celebration, we are drawn, by the call of a fond respect and a deep affection, to these funeral rites. The sanctuary representing the first place for united worship of the earliest company of English exiles to the Bay of Massachusetts has within its walls, for the last time, the form of him, who, in the line of its honored ministers, served for a score of years in its pulpit and at its altar. And when inability of voice and health compelled him then to change the method of his public service, he found in faithful official trusts, municipal, state, and national, and in labors of eminent value with his pen, the tasks which occupied and improved his full round of years.

There is no shock of contrast, no incongruous relation, but, rather, a strange fitness and harmony, between the national events which we have been commemorating and these more private obsequies. For the friend whose funeral rites are engaging us took his place in life, in profession, character, and forms of high service, — as scholar, divine, magistrate, statesman, historian, and biographer, — with the best and foremost of those whose memories and achievements have been in our thoughts. So far as a single individual can, in himself, gather about him, personally, the same elements which give interest to a country, its history, its great events, its divines, scholars, merchants, and patriots, the tie of harmony is found here. Our honored and revered friend was even more a citizen of this country, because of the almost accidental fact that he was not born in it, but came after his boyhood in a bordering British Province, back to his paternal home, here to live and die. For more than one-half of the nation's century, his career, activity, associations, and employments have engaged him with the men and events which make up the nation's records.

How completely did he identify the labors and the delights of his life with this grand old historic town of Salem! Thoroughly versed in its history; attached to all its interesting and instructive associations with the elder days; skilled in tracing out its leading influence in the development of the infant colony, — as the home of many of its early governors, and of some of its ablest men and noblest women, the centre once of a world-wide commerce through its merchant princes

and seamen, the nursery of eminent patriots, statesmen, and lawyers, — he fed his mind upon its records, and then he loved to rewrite them, accurately, vividly, and with lucid comments, that children's children might know their fathers by their toils and their virtues. How fitly, too, did he take his place in the line of succession with that series of remarkable men, who have been, for two and a half centuries, the pastors of the First Church of the Massachusetts Colony! It seemed to me that, either in assuming their office, in acceding to their duties and responsibilities, or in making a study, with such charming rehearsals, of their characters and services as developed by the spirit and exigencies of their respective times, he had assimilated to himself the strong points, the antagonisms, and the attractions of the Christian virtues, as exhibited in them. To those who know any thing to the purpose of knowledge about our local history, what themes of romantic and instructive interest come up with the mention of the names of two of the earliest of those pastors, Roger Williams and Hugh Peters, and of the successive governors, Winthrop, Endicott, Sir Henry Vane, and Bradstreet. And then the two Higginsons, — father and son, — examples of the sweetest piety and of the most gracious virtues in their calling. And Barnard, too, in the crisis when patriotism required fidelity of spirit and the influence of a well-appreciated dignity and authority for the preaching and the prayers of anxious and troubled times. And then the calmly wise sage, with whom Mr. Upham began his ministry as a colleague, — one of the very first among us to carry his devout studies into the ways of God in the philosophy of nature, — the venerable Dr. John Prince. It was something to wait for in one's dying hour, something to look for in the unfoldings of the new life that leads up from mortality, to join in the fellowship of such who had gone before, to report to them the later harvestings from their own labors.

Having devoted twenty years of the vigor and enthusiasm of his manhood to the Christian ministry, on the basis and with the conditions attached to it as he entered upon life, of course the whole subsequent direction of his studies and interests was turned into a more or less professional channel. The ministry when he chose it, especially in the fellowship and community in which he was to exercise it, was then the most honored and envied of professions. Its expected service and work were of the highest order, requiring of all who would labor and be esteemed in it, sound scholarship, varied culture, graces of person, address, and character, and thorough

consistency of life. He met fully all those exactions. His needed task-work and routine of duty were congenial with his taste, and gratified his pure ambition. In his own pulpit and in those of his brethren, he was an instructive and impressive teacher, dispensing the fruits of matured study in didactic Christian lessons, toned with devout and reverent sanctions for faith and piety. He kept in regard the balanced and harmonized claims of intelligent, speculative inquiry, and of the recognized limitations of the intellect when dealing with things deep, august, and mysterious. His theological publications were maturely wrought from the best mines of learning then opened, and have still a substantial value.

The traditionary standard of duty and privilege for the ministry, as he took his place in the ranks, allowed, and indeed required, that one who was able and earnest in that professional work for the church should at his will or necessity transfer his service to what we call the State, — to civil responsibilities of office in the magistracy, the convention, the assembly, the senate, or even the nation's forum. No man that fails in fidelity in any one form of high service is apt to be fit for much success in any other. But a good, strong, and earnest man, if impeded by infirmity in his first preferred vocation, may transfer all that trained and distinguished him there to other methods of truth and righteousness, and do a manifold work of usefulness. Massachusetts did not initiate its ministers for an inviolate isolation as priests. It is congenital and inherent in the vitality and the traditionary pattern of this blessed old State, or Commonwealth, that those who are fitted to be its religious guides should, by force of the genius, talent, patience, and fidelity of that calling, be fitted also for secular counsel, for magistracy, for authority in educational interests, for patriotic influence, and for setting on record the histories and biographies which rescue from the tooth of time the men and events whose survival and rehearsal make so much of the living impulse of our own right aims and deeds. So it has always been with us here; and, when it is otherwise, our religious teachers will lose a large measure of their influence, and our noblest secular interests will degenerate into mere material and temporary objects.

Having left his pulpit because he had lost his voice, Mr. Upham had still thirty years of life for congenial work, and all of it useful for others. With what varied and fruitful industry, and to what permanent results, Mr. Upham wrought in all public affairs, and in choice labors of the pen, as overseer of your schools, as your chief magistrate, as the State

Senator of your district, as your Representative in the National Congress, as editor, historian, and biographer, — this is not the place nor the time for the full rehearsal. He loved most historical studies, and in them his excellence was the greatest. For them he had the aptitudes alike the most essential and the most rare, — a habit of thoroughness in research and the authentication of facts ; impartiality of spirit ; the constructive power of imagination in re-creating, re-clothing, and identifying the past, and that calm, though kindled tone of narrative, with judicious comment and illustration, the fruitage of years of wide reading and rigid mental discipline. His retrospective studies constructed the biographies of worthies who had lived in the vanished centuries. He gave the charm of a reverential, patriotic rehearsal, — illustrated by private and official virtue of the rugged fibre, — to the memorial of his father's classmate, in old age his own parishioner, Timothy Pickering ; and the tender tribute of his fond companionship, to such as the high-minded statesman, King, the ingenious and enterprising merchant, Peabody, and the venerated and honored judge, White.

There is but one survivor now, and he in the retirement and repose of a most fruitful and honored life of like tenor with Mr. Upham's, — venerated and beloved in the scholar's home at Cambridge, — but one survivor of that group of kindred spirits in the profession of their youthful choice to which our friend belonged, — Sparks, Gilman, Everett, Palfrey. He followed in the line of his early Scriptural studies the standard and the guides recognized when he began them. Through his life he found no better : a Bible authenticated with a divine warrant ; an Illumination helpful beyond reasoning ; a sacred Teacher, sinless and loving, the only one on earth who, when he knelt in prayer, needed not to ask forgiveness of men or of God, the guide and saviour of our race ; lessons, which, when truly opened to the intelligence of men, and reverently obeyed, would supplement and extend all the revealings of nature about the mysteries of life and death. When criticism and speculation, doubting, affirming, and denying, led on with venturesome confidence beyond these bounds, he ceased to follow. It was as when a river pilot, used to navigate by guides and landmarks, trees, hills, and the smoke from the chimneys of human homes, finds himself on the open seas, with fog-banks and icebergs, without soundings or aspects, swept by currents, and having no port but foundering, the companion of the albatross and of homeless birds who can sleep on the billows. If it comes to that, he

thought, as others do, that instead of teaching others, a man's full and vexing task is to try to learn for himself.

But in view of the last act and scene of life, as we gather about the remains of one whose earthly course is closed, it is not intellectual nor professional ability nor service that tones our feelings or our thoughts about the departed. It is the impress of character, the mien and spirit, the purpose and tenor, the impress and quality of the life, which, for long years, in private and in public, at home and among associates and contemporaries, has been maturing the judgment, silent or spoken, concerning him, and lettering the memorial of him whether on the stone or on the heart. I can speak here, among his fellow-citizens, only as a friend, as a younger associate in professional relations with him, and as one who, by the interchange of letters and the reading of his charming works, had every way love and respect for him. Of late years, as I have spent the weeks of summer near by, it has been one of my richest resources of improvement and pleasure to visit him in his calm retirement, waiting for life's decline. The elaborate biography of Colonel Pickering, so rich in its presentment of a career of singular nobleness, and so instructive in its delineation of the war epoch and the cradle days of our nation, was the work alike of the years of his failing bodily strength, and the ripening of his mental and moral powers. And with what a serene spirit, with what a patient consciousness of its process, with what a trustful belief that while it was change it was not extinguishment of being, did he note the decays of nature, and nestle in the solaces of his home. He sat surrounded by his loved books on their shelves, and knew that there was something as unexhausted and enduring in himself as in them. His pleasant retrospects transfigured themselves into cheering prospects.

And now, as for the last time, from this his pulpit, I look upon the contents of this casket, I see the refined beauty of his lineaments and features, as yet in their unwasted nobleness of dignity. The forehead and brow still show the measure and compass of the mind once tenanting and serving it. The kindly greeting of his open eye, and the gentle sweetness of his voice, and the chastened moderation of his speech on themes of high import, — these are now to be memories with you and with me.

The remains of the deceased were deposited in the Harmony Grove Cemetery.

As this sheet is passing through the press, occasion is found to add to it the mention of an event which occurred after this Memoir had been put in type. Mrs. Ann Susan Upham, the widow of Charles Wentworth Upham, after suffering from long protracted illness, died in Salem, on April 5, 1877, at the age of nearly seventy-three years. This excellent lady shared largely in the talents and brilliant powers of her family. A life-long friend of her own sex briefly expresses her appreciation of Mrs. Upham in these words, "She was of a truly feminine soul, a clear mind, a witty spirit."

[An allusion to the decease of Mrs. Ann S. Upham by Rev. Fielder Israel, pastor of the First Church, Salem, at the conclusion of his sermon on Sunday morning, April 8, 1877. Mrs. Upham died on Thursday, April 5, 1877, aged 72 years, 10 months, and 20 days.]

A gifted woman, the wife of him who for many years served at these altar-places, we laid away yesterday beneath the fresh spring grass and the first flowers, with the tenderest love, and in triumphant hope.

She inherited genius, but harmonized all the faculties and functions of her nature with truth and beauty, by education and culture, by the study of nature and of art, by the creation and composition of poems for the home-circle full of cheerful wit and charming quaintness, embalming in the memories of her children the pleasant associations and scenes of domestic life and love. A woman of a deeply religious nature and life, rational, reverent, and devout; sometimes distrustful of self, sometimes despondent, but with a cheerful, gladsome, genial faith in God and in humanity, fulfilling all the duties of daughter, sister, wife, mother, friend, with obedience and care, with fidelity and the sweetest love, and who came at last, through a baptism of suffering, to feel that

"More blessed 'tis to give than to receive." *
No more, — no mystic dogma to believe,
Only a thread in each day's life to weave;

Only a common duty, in such wise
Transfigured by new light, that straight my eyes
Saw how above all truth *true loving* lies;

Saw that, forgetful of my own soul's need,
Filling my life with gracious thought and deed,
I might leave time — and God — to shape my creed.

* These lines were quoted, as some of the expressions in them were almost the very language used by Mrs. Upham in the last interviews which her minister had with her.

My prayer was answered; not as I had thought,
I had not found the knowledge that I sought,
To live without it was the lesson taught.

The end of all my long and weary quest
Is only failure; yet a sense of rest,
Of deep, unwonted quiet, fills my breast.

And though some vexing doubts still hold their place,
Yet is my faith no measure for His grace,
Whose hand still holds me, though He hide His face.

And day by day I think I read more plain
This crowning truth, that, spite of sin and pain,
No life that God has given is lived in vain;

But each poor, weak, and sin-polluted soul
Shall struggle free at last, and reach its goal,
A perfect part of God's great perfect whole.

My heart believes, — yet still I long for light;
Surely the morning cometh after night,
When Faith, the watcher, shall give place to sight.

Littell's Living Age.

And the morning did come to her, in its brightness and beauty, after the night; her faith has given place to sight; and her hope now gains its full fruition, — *rest* and *peace.*

N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA